EQUAL RIGHTS

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OCT 6 - 1948

All Major Political Parties Declare For Equal Rights Amendment

By ANITA POLLITZER, *National Chairman, National Woman's Party.*

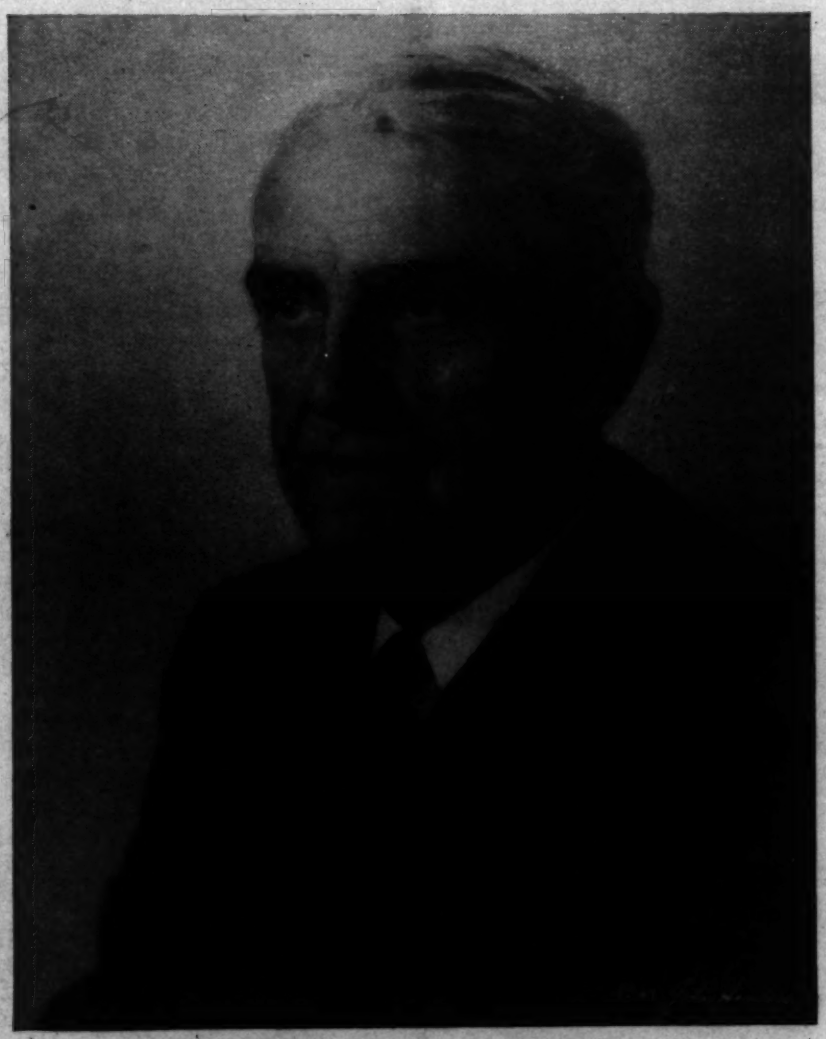
BETWEEN the closing of the regular session of the 80th Congress on June 19, 1948, and the convening of the special session on August 26, 1948, your Chairman and a large number of other representatives of the National Woman's Party attended the three national political party conventions in Philadelphia — the Republican Convention, the Democratic Convention, and the Progressive Convention, to express the demand of women that the Equal Rights Amendment be made a part of our National Constitution.

In addition, a member of our National Council, Helen Hunt West of Florida, attended the States Rights Democratic Convention in Birmingham, Alabama, in July and brought the Equal Rights Amendment plank to the attention of that group.

The result was that an Equal Rights Amendment plank was adopted by the Republican Party, by the Democratic Party, by the Progressive Party, and a statement strongly endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment was given to the National Woman's Party by the Presidential candidate of the States Rights Democratic Party, that Party having not yet drawn up its official platform.

Every National Committeewoman of the Republican and Democratic Parties with whom we spoke in Philadelphia joined us in urging the adoption of an Equal Rights Amendment plank. We were not able to talk to the Committee women of the Progressive Party as they were not chosen until after the adjournment of the Progressive Convention.

Those who spoke before the Republican platform committee urging the inclusion of the Equal Rights Amendment plank were: Dr. Mary Sinclair Crawford, Dean Emeritus of the University of Southern California, Past President of the Business Women's Legislative Council of California, and Chairman of the Western Regional Division of the National Woman's Party; Mrs. Adda Lutz Ferguson, Attorney, and Chairman of the Philadelphia Professional and Business Women's Branch of the National Woman's Party, Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Member Pennsylvania Board, National Woman's Party, and myself.



SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER of Kansas

Staunch supporter of woman's suffrage from the early days
For twenty-five years champion of the Equal Rights Amendment
Now chief sponsor of the Amendment in the United States Senate

In our presentation before the Platform Committee, we not only requested the plank favoring submission of the Amendment, but discussed specifically the Amendment at that moment being pressed in Congress, which reads:

> *"Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."*

To the Committee Dean Crawford said:

> *"It is to the honor of our Republican Party that our Party was the first to put a plank in our platform favoring submission of the Equal Rights Amendment.*
>
> *"In California there is the strongest hope that this may again be included—in fact many California organizations have combined to work for this one purpose alone."*

A favorable report by the Sub-Committee went to a drafting committee, under the Chairmanship of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Next came the meeting of the approximately 100 "State Designated Members of the Resolutions Committee"—a Committee of a man and a woman from

(Continued on Page 30)

each State, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Alaska. This Committee included *all* of those who served on the 9 Sub-Committees. Here we had many friends and the Equal Rights Amendment plank was adopted unanimously.

Especial help was given to the Amendment plank *throughout* by Republican National Committee-women. Space permits mentioning only a few of those whose constant cooperation was deeply appreciated:—Mrs. Horace P. Sayre, Vice-chairman, Republican National Committee and Member for Oklahoma; Mrs. Katherine Kennedy Brown, Vice-chairman and Member for Ohio; Mrs. Worthington Scranton, National Committeewoman for Pennsylvania; Mrs. Dudley Hay, National Committeewoman for Michigan; Mrs. Earl Lytton Wing, National Committeewoman for Maine; Mrs. Chris Carolson, National Committeewoman for Minnesota; Mrs. Reeve Schley, National Committeewoman for New Jersey; Mrs. Charles W. Weis, Jr., National Committeewoman for New York, and Mrs. Lula E. Powell, National Committeewoman for Maryland.

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TEXT OF EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"This amendment shall take effect three years after the date of ratification."

Introduced in Senate February 21, 1947.

Introduced in House January 9, 1947.

Favorably reported by Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

There were other signs of progress. Representative Katharine St. George, the Amendment's chief sponsor in the House, made a brilliant speech before the Republican Convention. Mrs. Dudley Hay, National Committeewoman for Michigan, a strong supporter of the Amendment, was Secretary of the Convention. Arriving at the Convention, after her victorious campaign to secure the nomination to the United States Senate, was Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, one of the Congresswomen to send strong approval of the Equal Rights Amendment to the House Judiciary Committee in the past session.

Former President Hoover, who gave his support to the Amendment plank in 1944, in his address to the Convention reminded his hearers that *"Civilization moves forward only on promises that are kept."*

On June 23, the Platform, which included the Equal Rights Amendment plank, was read to the Convention by Senator Lodge and was unanimously adopted. That night in accepting the nomination for the Presidency, Governor Dewey said:

> *"Our platform proclaims the guideposts that will mark our steadfast and certain endeavor in a fearful world. This magnificent statement of principles is concise and to the point.* You unanimously adopted it. I proudly support it."

The nominee for the Vice Presidency, Governor Earl Warren, is also a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, having supported it since 1944.

The procedure and the outcome were very similar at the Democratic Convention where Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, National Committee member from Pennsylvania, was the able and tireless leader of the forces for the Amendment plank. Mrs. Miller made a most convincing speech to the Platform Committee and then presented our other speakers.

Among them were Democratic Committeewomen Mrs. O'Riordan of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Canoles of Maryland; two Democratic candidates for the Legislatures in their States, Catherine Dobbs of Ohio, and Evelyn Baker Richman, New York; Dr. Catherine MacFarlane, Women's Medical Association; Judge Anna Kross, National Association of Women Lawyers; Adda Lutz Ferguson, Quota International; Miss Marie Lockwood, prominent in various Catholic organizations; Betty Gram Swing, active campaigner in the last Presidential election; Mary Murray, Chairman, Industrial Council, National Woman's Party; Bernice Lee, law student, Young Democrat and active campaigner.

Miss Lena Madesin Phillips, an active worker in the Progressive Party, took the leadership in the effort to secure the endorsement of the Amendment by the Progressive Party. Her account of the endorsement by the Progressive Convention appears in this issue.

The only political conventions which did not endorse the Equal Rights Amendment were the Socialist Convention and the Communist Convention.

Women leaders in both parties are for the Amendment. Women's organizations have taken the banner for us. This is a great contrast to the 1944 conventions when many organizations representing Labor, Catholics, and women's groups made a many-sided presentation against the Equal Rights Amendment.

The National Woman's Party has gone for the last time, we believe, to the national political conventions to ask for equal justice for women. With all the principal political parties committed to the Amendment, this measure should certainly be accepted without question by Congress when it convenes again.

Statement To Members

By MAMIE SIDNEY MIZEN,
Secretary pro-tem of the National Council of the National Woman's Party

TO those of you outside Washington, away from National Headquarters, it may be difficult to convey the feeling of imminent success that permeates Headquarters' atmosphere. This may seem like a strange statement in the face of the special session's close without final action on the Equal Rights amendment. But it is not strange. Just a review of the facts will explain this undercurrent of exhilaration that one senses so strongly.

There has been a triumphant sweep of events from the second of March, when the dismissal by the Court of the motion for appeal in the law suit terminated that much to be regretted attack on the National Woman's Party. Soon there followed the sharply decisive 7-1 vote for the Amendment in the full Judiciary Committee of the Senate on April 29 with the vicious "biological status" bill buried past resurrection. The interment of the "biological status" bill, moreover, had the full blessing of Senator Taft, one of its original sponsors, who publicly stated that he did not wish that bill to interfere in any way with the Amendment's progress. Then came the resounding report recommending that the Amendment "do pass" from the House Judiciary Committee on June 1, and the burying of the "biologi cal status" bill by the House Committee. The Amendment was thus placed on the calendar of both Houses. Then, for the first time in the history of the Amendment, it was acted upon favorably by the Republican Policy Committee of the Senate and by the Republican Senate Caucus. It was even placed by the Republican Policy Committee on the Senate calendar of "must legislation" which the Republican leaders announced they wanted passed before adojurnment. This has been the swiftest progress in the history of this legislation. In spite of the many delays caused by filibusters, a vote on the Amendment remained a possibility until the last moment of June 19th, the last long day of the regular session.

Nor did the members from the National Woman's Party who were working at the Capitol consider that failure to get a vote from the tired Senators that day was a failure for the Amendment. Far from it. They went into another phase of effort knowing that never had the atmosphere been so favorable for this long-sought goal of their work. The political party conventions in Philadelphia lay ahead. Members of the National Woman's Party were selected to speak for the Amendment at the convention of the political party of their choice. First, on June 23, despite the continued opposition of die-hard supporters of the "biological status" bill the Republican party adopted the following in its platform:

> "We recommend to Congress the submission of a Constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.
>
> "We favor equal pay for equal work regardless of sex."

This time the wording of the plank was stronger, "recommending submission" instead of merely "favoring submission" as the earlier platforms had it.

Without time to replenish energy or funds, members went to the Democratic convention. There was little difficulty in getting our plank in the Democratic platform. The plank read:

> "We recommend to Congress the submission of a Constitutional amendment on equal rights for women."

1948 presented a unique problem in that convention work was not finished when the major conventions closed. The convention of the Progressive Party followed on July 23. Members of the National Woman's Party went to the convention and were successful in having the following strong statement included in the platform:

> "We call for a constitutional amendment which will effectively prohibit every form of discrimination against women—economic, educational, legal and political."

One representative of the Woman's Party did her bit in the "Dixiecrat" convention, and while their platform is not complete at this writing their presidential candidate sent the fine expression of his personal stand on the amendment below:

> "The part American women have played throughout history cannot be overemphasized. Women and men together built America. In the pursuits of everyday life, women have given their energies to the fullest. In times of crisis, they have always answered the Nation's call.
>
> "It is indeed anachronistic that women do not enjoy the same legal rights as men. It is high time that the situation be rectified. Women, who have served side by side with men in peace and war, should not be penalized because of their sex.
>
> "I heartily endorse the proposed Equal-rights Amendment to the United States Constitution.
>
> "(SIGNED) J. STROM THURMOND, *Governor.*"

This simple statement that the platforms of the three major political parties include favorable recommendations of the Amendment is by no means the whole story. There is no gain—saying that while the credit for this accomplishment goes to the Republican, Democratic and Progressive women who worked with their own respective conventions, the Woman's Party members were the leaven. They started the work at each Convention and kept it going until the end. This, too, must be said:—The various Parties were ready for this action. Sentiment has changed. Now the woman's rights idea does not meet the cold indifference or the wide hositility of other years. The idea has caught on.

After the conventions came the special session. The Woman's Party members were ready. Everyone knew it would be a short session, and a difficult one. But the members of the Woman's Party persisted in their efforts to have the measure brought up. The Republican caucus determined the fate of all legislation. The Senate caucus considered the Amendment and no oppositions was expressed; however it was settled that the session would take up only the program called for in the President's message. That doomed consideration of the Amendment at that time. But there was this significant fact. Not only did the Republican leaders, in control of both Senate and House, evidence no opposition to the Amendment at all, they showed a warm sympathy for it, a genuine realization of the need for it, and gave evidence of a surprising amount of support.

Mrs. Katherine St. George, the leader of the House group sponsoring the Amendment, went personally to talk with Senate leaders at the time of the Republican Senate caucus. She brought back word that the leaders gave assurance that while they must, of necessity, give consideration in this special session to matters contained in the President's message and did not dare

(Continued on Page 33)

By Their Fruits . . .

By HELEN ELIZABETH BROWN,

General Counsel of the Federation of Republican Women of Maryland, and Former Assistant City Solicitor of Baltimore

This article expresses the opinions of one of our Republican Party members. The National Woman's Party is non-partisan. —*Editor.*

AGAIN this nation is about to speak in a national election. The two major parties recognize that the dominant voice will be feminine. How shall the woman voters choose? One of the most colorful figures in American politics the late Al Smith, struck a basic note when he got right down to "looking at the record." No party can rest its oars and drift along on its past efforts. But it is only by scrutinizing past performances that you can determine the advisability of investing your vote in future promises.

The Republican Party has made most of the crucial decisions that made this country great. On great questions of right and wrong, it has usually taken the high road and adopted the long view that was vindicated in the acid test of time.

Essential Rights

The scope of this comment forbids a general discussion and is confined to an issue of the utmost importance not only to every woman but to every other citizen of this and other lands. It is the vital issue of the right of more than half the adult population of this country to equal justice under law and specific Constitutional protection for their inherent human rights. Just one hundred years ago at Seneca Falls, New York, American women drew up a list of grievances against the unspeakable conditions prevailing against them at that time. Now New York's chief executive, Thomas E. Dewey, is a candidate for chief executive of the nation. What is his record and the record of his Party on the vital issue of women's rights?

The women at Seneca Falls included the vote as one of their demands. A little later Susan B. Anthony saw that the vote was the key to all the others. It still is, and it took from 1848 to 1920 to get it. *The Nineteenth, or Woman Suffrage Amendment was submitted to the States by a Republican Congress and a majority of the ratifying state legislatures were Republican. It was the Republican minority in the legislature of Tennessee, the necessary thirty-sixth ratifying state, that stood firm and clinched the victory while the Democratic majority wavered.*

Previously many prominent Republicans, including Abraham Lincoln, Salmon Portland Chase and others, thought the Constitution of the United States was written in clear, concise American language and meant what it said. Not so that branch of the government which undertook to interpret its meaning. By a strange distortion of the American language, various courts ruled that when it guaranteed certain rights to all "persons", it did not mean women. These courts were mostly located in Democratic territory and presided over by Democratic judges. The net result is that the Suffrage Amendment and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment are needed to make the Constitution actually mean what it plainly says. The years, tears the life potentialities that have gone into this effort!

The Equal Rights Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution in 1920. The Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced in Congress by Republicans in 1923. Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, later Vice President, sponsored it in the Senate and Representative Daniel R. Anthony of Kansas, nephew of the great suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony, introduced it in the House. Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, Republican, is now its chief sponsor in the Senate. Other Republican Senators who have joined him in sponsoring the measure are Indiana's Homer E. Capehart, New Jersey's Albert W. Hawkes, North Dakota's William Langer and Milton R. Young, Pennsylvania's Edward Martin, Wyoming's Edward V. Robertson and Utah's Arthur V. Watkins. The present chief sponsor of the Amendment in the House is New York's able, charming and energetic Katharine St. George. She is joined in this sponsorship by sixty-three fellow Republicans who mourn the loss of another who was a devoted friend and former chief sponsor, the late Representative John M. Robsion of Kentucky. It is only fair to say that some Democrats have joined this distinguished company.

The Republican party showed the way by first pledging submission of the Equal Rights Amendment in its 1940 platform. Although with few exceptions, the Amendment had the support of Party members in the Congress they were powerless to pass it against Democratic opposition and control. The Republicans again included the pledge in their 1944 platform. This time the Democrats said "me too," but did nothing about it although theirs was the power for fourteen years and theirs could have been the glory. They have never even bothered with an excuse for the repudiation of their promise.

Since coming into precarious control of the Congress a short time ago, Republicans have made remarkable headway against the tide of New Deal legislative hangovers, manufactured and real emergencies, with Democratic filibustering as an extra added obstacle. Despite this, several specific advances were made in the limited time at their command.

The definite disposal by the Republican-controlled Judiciary Committees of Senate and House of the insidious "biological status" bill was a genuine accomplishment. As chairman of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee studying the bill, it did not take the keen legal mind of Missouri's former Republican Governor and present Senator, Forrest C. Donnell, long to penetrate the shams and pretenses of this device designed to embed in the laws of this land flagrant discriminations based on sex which were violative of both the federal and state constitutions and in direct conflict with the laws of most of the states. This is something Republican women can really brag about and their Democratic sisters join them in rejoicing.

After killing the "biological status" bill, the Republican-controlled Judiciary Committee of the Senate promptly returned a favorable report on the Equal Rights Amendment without one dissenting Republican vote. Leaders in this were Senators Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, chairman, Donnel, Homer Ferguson of Michigan, William Langer of North Dakota and John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky. Three Democratic votes two affirmative and one negative, were added to theirs. Senator Ferguson made the favorable report for the Committee to the Senate.

The Republican Senate Policy Committee in the closing weeks of the regular session of Congress took favorable action on the Amendment and put the Amendment on its "Must Calendar" of measures on which the Republicans wanted action before adjournment. The Republican Conference of the Senate also took favorable action on the Amendment.

While the Amendment reached the floor of both the Senate and the House in the present Congress it did not actually come to a vote in either House before adjournment. Submission of the Amendment is again pledged by both party platforms. The record plainly shows that the Republican pledge was made in good faith and that the Amendment will fare far better in Republican hands.

International Duplicity

The Democratic administration is always preaching democracy to the world. Its words are one thing; its actions another. A conference of American Republics was held in May, 1948, at Bogota, Colombia. Subjects of vital and direct concern to women were on the agenda. Women pleaded with President Truman for representation on the United States delegation. Their pleas were ignored. The delegation was composed of men only. Some other American republics used as an excuse for their failure to name women delegates that they were following the precedent set by the "Colossus of the North."

State Action

Thirty past and present Republican Governors have made public statements in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. Two Republican state legislatures have memorialized the Congress to pass the Amendment. They are North Dakota in 1947 during the administration of Republican Governor Fred G. Aandahl and New York in 1945 when Governor Thomas E. Dewey gave the resolution the green light during his first administration. Many prominent Republicans have given active suport.

Governor Earl Warren, Republican candidate for Vice President, has long been on record as favoring the Amendment. At Sacramento in August 1944, he said, *"The national platform of the Republican Party favors a constitutional amendment providing for equal rights for our men and women throughout the land. In California we shall labor to make that plank effective."* He kept his word.

Democratic administrations in the nation and in the states are too often led down the blind alley of do-goodism which results in the enactment of legislation deliberately designed by selfish, materialistic interests to restrict and handicap women under the pretense of "protecting" them. Such schemes clash headon with the Republican conviction that the individual should be left free by government to manage her or his own affairs so long as fundamental rights are secure and there is no unwarranted interference with the other fellow. That is why women encounter less restrictive and discriminatory legislation in Republican states. This is only one manifestation of the basic conflict in the philosophies of government that distinguish the two parties—a difference that means much to women and should attract them both as women and as American citizens to the Republican standard.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey

The Republican standard-bearer has a record that should attract women's votes to him as well as to his party whose theories and pledges he has transformed into vibrant realities. Governor Dewey knows that government has a grave need for the active participation of women. He has not only said so in speeches, he has appointed 224 women to key government posts and numerous others to places in his administration. Many of these are known throughout the nation for their unique contributions to government. He was instrumental in ensuring to women workers of New York Women's Council, a non-partisan group of 34 outstanding women in education labor, industry and the professions.

In 1947 the Women's International Exposition awarded Governor Dewey its gold medal citing him as "the Governor who has done most to further the interests of women in his State." The award was made following a continuing analysis of the activities of state governors through which it was found that in addition to other outstanding achievements, Governor Dewey in all his projects recognized the fact that women rank with men in their needs and capacities and are vital factors in the life of the State.

Women's welfare is the country's welfare. No man can be free while women are bound. No republic can continue to exist as such without the constant concern of all its citizens.

No woman should render blind and thoughtless allegiance to any political party. And earning her support once is not enough; it should continue to merit it. A woman's vote should represent her considered judgment after a careful analysis of all facts available. Such a course would, in my judgment, cause a feminine landslide for the Republicans this fateful November.

Statement To Members

(Continued from Page 31)

open the flood gates for other bills to pour in, they would place the Equal Rights Amendment on the list of measures for first consideration when the next session of Congress meets. It is difficult to overemphasize this fact. The Equal Rights Amendment has now reached the status of legislation so important that it stands on its own unquestioned merit as demanding national attention by the nation's lawmakers.

There can be no doubt that the equal rights idea is riding the crest of its wave of destiny. That wave is mounting. This writer remembers the situation in Congress in 1942,—her first contact with the National Woman's Party,—when the interest in the idea seemed like the thin little wash of water upon the sands, scarcely visible. Since then the tide has swept up and up. Now—it is surging forward. In the halls of the Capitol, in the Senate and House offices there is a real awareness that it is a good thing to be right on this matter, it isn't just a concession to some nice ladies. These women have power, increasing power. This idea is something real, something inevitable, because it is something right. It is a good thing to be right with it.

This electric current of optimism, of certainty of victory, can be felt daily. You, wherever you are, can feel it, too. There is still time this very year, to bring about the realization of the great dream of the pioneer women of 1848. There is still time to make this year the culmination of the hundred years of struggle for justice for the mothers of mankind, for the women who are the bearers of destiny. The Amendment can be passed in 1948, the centennial year. Talk of another special session persists. Capitalize on it. By letters, wires, visits, make your Congressional delegation sharply aware that you want that special session, that you want the Equal Rights amendment brought up and passed in it. You will be the determinant. You can enlist support from the friends and neighbors near you. Remember that Congressmen are Congressmen because they respond to the needs of the people they represent, and only for that long. Your votes mean something, your support means something. Your representatives will be responsive to this idea if you bring your demand to them with force and clarity. We are close, so very close to the consummation of all the work, the suffering, the heartbreaking struggle. But it will take every single one of you to bring it to pass.

The Democratic Party . . . Champion of Human Rights

This article expresses the opinions of one of our Democratic Party members. The National Woman's Party is non-partisan. —*Editor.*

By BERNIECE M. LEE,

Speaker and organizer for Oklahoma Branch, Young Democratic Clubs of America; Speaker in support of the Equal Rights Amendment before the Platform Committee of the Democratic National Convention in 1948.

IN THE United States today the majority of our people believe in the sacred tenets of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution—they believe in justice, democracy and equality. Though many of us are subcitizens or "females" still held in partial bondage, we firmly believe that we have not much longer to wait until the Constitution will become a document guaranteeing the rights and dignity of all the people of the Nation, and not of man alone. Women for centuries have been valiantly struggling for a place in the sun. It was not until one hundred years ago—1848—that a group of determined women met at Seneca Falls, New York, and changed the pattern of the lives of women throughout the world. These women emerged from the dark forests of bondage created by centuries of dominant males, and lifted a banner of freedom giving fresh hope to women who had tired of their old role of being a subservient group and legally the property of men.

Of the list of grievances drawn up at the historic Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, only one resolution so far has become a reality—that regarding the right of women to vote. In 1878 the Suffrage Amendment was first introduced in Congress, but it was not until forty-two years later that the Amendment became part of our Constitution and women were at last able to share the responsibility of citizenship by going to the polls to vote.

The pending Equal Rights Amendment, which will complete for women the legal emancipation begun by the Suffrage Amendment, has been introduced in every Congress since 1923. Will it take our male legislators forty-two years to grant us our civil liberties and full citizenship? In my opinion it will not require that length of time. The world today is becoming more and more ONE WORLD. With the increasing demand for world cooperation, the services and abilities of women are more needed than in any previous period of history. The United States since the end of World War I has been preaching democracy to the World. But only in recent years have men become conscious of woman's role in domestic and international affairs. With this new awakening, politicians from both major parties are now beginning to take for granted the justice of an amendment to the Constitution recognizing women as persons and equal to men legally, politically, and economically.

This present discussion is devoted to a consideration of the question: — which political party is best equipped to guarantee to women a new and better status? While it is generally conceded that both the Democratic and Republican parties are responsible for the Suffrage Amendment, it should be pointed out that it was in a Democratic Administration, under President Wilson, that the Suffrage Amendment passed Congress and was ratified by the States. President Wilson went in person to the United States Senate and appealed to the Senate to pass the Suffrage Amendment. Later he appealed to Senator McKellar of Tennessee, an outstanding Democratic leader, to use his influence to have a special session of the Tennessee State Legislature called to ratify the Amendment. This was done and Tennessee, a Democratic State, gave us the necessary three-fourths of the states required for ratification. Former Representative Scott Ferris of Oklahoma, as the then Democratic Congressional Committee Chairman, appealed to both Parties for support of the Suffrage Amendment in Congress as well as for its ratification by the States. I am proud to relate that Oklahoma's delegation of two Senators and eight Congressmen were unanimous in support of suffrage for women.

In 1923 the Equal Rights Amendment was introduced in Congress for the first time. During three Republican Administrations—under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover—there was an almost complete stoppage in the women movement. Some say that while serving as President, Hoover was in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment; others say he was not. We only know from the record that he was not at all definite, which is so typical of Republican policies. During his administration no action was taken in either the House or Senate Judiciary Committees. However, years later, when the Democrats came into power, Democratic members of the Judiciary Committees of both Houses of Congress gave us our first favorable reports from these two Committees, and a Democratic President, President Truman, gave strong and unqualified support to the Amendment. In 1944 and again in 1948 the Democratic National Convention placed an Equal Rights Amendment plank in the National platform. It is not remarkable then that women throughout the Nation are looking to the Democratic Party for the continued elevation to human dignity of our forgotten sex.

It was a Democratic President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who first appointed women to high positions in the Federal Government: first woman member of a President's Cabinet, Miss Frances Perkins; first woman U. S. Minister to Denmark, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde; first woman U. S. Minister to Norway, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman; first woman Director of U. S. Mint, Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross; first woman Assistant Secretary of U. S. Treasury, Miss Josephine Roche; first woman U. S. Assistant Treasurer, Mrs. Blair Banister; first woman appointed to U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Hon. Florence Allen; first woman member U. S. Court of Tax Appeals, Hon. Marion J. Harron; first woman member of U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission, Mrs. Jewell W. Swofford. And President Truman has appointed the first woman member of the Federal Communications Commission, Frieda Hennoch.

It is true that in 1940 and 1944 the Republican platform stated "We favor submission by Congress to the States of an Amendment to the Constitution providing for Equal Rights for men and women," and that the 1948 Republican platform was still more definite in its support of the Amendment. Women, however, will not forget the Republican leadership's infamous Taft-Wadsworth Biological Status Bill, introduced in Congress in 1947, as soon as the Republicans came into power. If this bill had been enacted into law, a Commission would have been set up to study the status of women. This is most certainly not consistent with the Republican movement for so-called "economy in government." The weak link of the Bio-

logical Status bill is that women are well acquainted with their status. We want our status changed, and it is useless for the Republicans to attempt to give us anything less. Republican tactics on this measure can be compared to the tactics used by Quintus Fabius, the Roman General who avoided decisive contests. Thus, in the present Congress, the Republican Party won delay after delay on the Amendment by making use of the Taft-Wadsworth Biological Status bill as a proposed substitute for the Equal Rights Amendment. The Republican Party is responsible, in my opinion, for the fact that the Amendment was not passed by the present Congress although there was a two-thirds majority assured in both Houses. When Congress was adjourned for the Republican convention, the Republican leaders solemnly promised that in case there was an extra session, which they fully expected, they would bring up the Amendment and put it through. They did nothing about it.

All women should certainly be grateful for President Truman's attitude on this legislation. While a Senator he supported the Equal Rights Amendment, and when he became President he reaffirmed his position. His statement endorsing the Amendment is clear cut and unequivocal. Everyone knows where he stands on this question.

Our Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, has supported the cause of women in the past, and he will continue to do so until the Amendment is adopted. One of Mr. Barkley's first good deeds upon being elected to the U. S. House of Representatives in the 63rd Congress was to support the Suffrage Amendment. It was Senator Barkley who, as Democratic leader of the Senate, brought the Equal Rights Amendment up for a vote on the Senate floor. Senator Barkley spoke, as the Democratic leader in support of the passage of the Amendment.

President Truman and Senator Barkley bring honor to the Democratic Party leadership because of their unselfish devotion and service not only to the American people, and people throughout the world, but because of their devotion and service to the cause of the freedom of women.

On this important issue, I remember also the aid and friendship to our cause of many other distinguished National leaders of the Democratic Party. Among these are Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Senator Hatch of New Mexico, Senator McFarland of Arizona, Senator Kilgore of West Virginia, Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, Senator McCurran of Nevada, Senator McKellar of Tennessee, Senator Tydings of Maryland, Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, Senator Pepper of Florida, Senator O'Conor of Maryland, former Senators Guffey of Pennsylvania and Radcliffe of Maryland, Representatives Cravens of Arkansas, Byrne of New York, and the Democratic leader of the House, John McCormack.

The Democratic roster of support for the rights of women, including championship of the Equal Rights Amendment, is long and illustrious outside of Congress as well as in Congress. No resume would be complete without mentioning James A. Farley, Josephus Daniels, J. Howard McGrath, our National Democratic Chairman, Robert E. Hannegan, our former National Chairman, and Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin. We must mention also the distinguished women of our Party who have given invaluable aid to the cause of equality for women—among them are Mrs. Gladys Tillett, Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic National Committee-Woman from Pennsylvania, Mrs. Margaret M. O'Riordan and Mrs. Izetta Jewel Miller, Mrs. Pearl Mesta whose Washington contacts were so valuable and Mrs. India Edwards, Director of the Woman's Division, Democratic National Committee whose work in Philadelphia was so outstanding. And we are proud of the nineteen Democratic Governors, past and present, who have aided the Woman's Cause. Among them are: former Governor Schricker, of Indiana, Governor Laney of Arkansas, Governor Hunt of Wyoming, Governor Thurmond of South Carolina, Governor Wallgren of Washington, Governor Maw of Utah, Governor Pastore of Rhode Island, and former Governor Dan Moody of Texas.

Turning again to my own State, I wish to mention that the Honorable Robert S. Kerr, while Governor of Oklahoma and keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention in 1944, gave valuable aid in securing the Equal Rights Amendment plank in the Democratic platform of 1944. Governor Kerr will this year, it is expected, replace Oklahoma's reactionary Republican Senator E. H. Moore, and thus assure one more vote for the Amendment in the United States Senate. Likewise, a new progressive Congressman is expected to take over in Oklahoma's first District, replacing another reactionary Republican, Congressman George Schwabe, and thereby giving still another vote to the Equal Rights Amendment. When Mr. Schwabe is asked how he stands on the Amendment for women, he replies, "Which version?" He is, of course, referring to the infamous Taft-Wadsworth Biological Status bill which he favors. Our Democratic candidate for this seat, Dixie Gilmer, is unqualified in his support of the Amendment.

I, as many other women in the United States, am more interested in the future of my people than my party. I fail, however, to see the logic of changing parties—electing Republicans who may take away the hard-fought gains that have been made for women under Democratic leadership, and who most certainly cannot be expected to do better than the Democratic Party has done. This November I will go to the polls to vote in my second Presidential election. With me I shall take the firm conviction that only with the Democratic Party—the Plain Peoples' Party—can we hope for greater educational, legal and economic opportunities for the great mass of women, greater security for the future for the rank and file of women. We young women of the Nation must face reality—if we return to a Republican Administration which exists for the "almighty few", our efforts for a secure life and greater opportunities for the plain, ordinary woman will have been strangled at birth.

By no means can 1948 be considered unimportant. 1948 is an historical year for all people. To the Republicans it brings the hope and dream of revival for a sick party, sick and discredited for sixteen years; to the Democrats it brings the opportunity for continued leadership in world affairs and in the championing of human rights, **including the rights of women.** To the women of the United States 1948 means the choice of the Party that will pass the Equal Rights Amendment for women. .

For the sake of the people of this country, for the sake of the struggling masses of the world, for the cause of justice and equality for women—I choose the Democratic Party.

In matters of government and democracy are we women in the United States actually leading the other nations? Of the 500 members of Indonesia's parliament, 28 are women. When one of these women members was congratulated on this achievement, she replied, "Not so! We are only 28 out of 500!"

Progressive Party Declares For The E. R. Amendment

This article expresses the opinions of one of our Progressive Party members. The National Woman's Party is non-partisan. —*Editor.*

By LENA MADESIN PHILLIPS,

Member of the National Committee of the Progressive Party and speaker for the Equal Rights Amendment before the Platform Committee of the Progressive Party Convention in Philadelphia, July 1948.

THE platform of the Progressive Party should raise a shout of joy from every real feminist. It should make her feel that at last the end of the long struggle for equality of status is at least in sight. For here is a Party able and willing to differentiate between the rights of women per se and the needs of mothers and children, and to provide for both. The platform-makers recognized that laws necessary for the protection of motherhood should not thereby restrict all women, said as much, and the Founding Convention accepted such fair distinctions without argument from the floor.

Logically, that was to have been expected. For the Progressive Party was born out of grave needs unmet, deep wrongs unrighted, an age when the easy words of platform promises are not enough. True, this party has no past except as is to be found in those who broke away from the outworn to follow Jefferson, Lincoln and their kind. Of it no one can say, "The same thing was in the platform four years ago (or eight years ago) and nothing happened." The Progressive Party itself is for us a safeguard against such failures. For the entire philosophy of the party and its platform is to wipe out just such injustices as our own.

Very recently George Bernard Shaw said to an American reporter, "Tell the American people that Shaw says Wallace is the only one among the candidates who is a social philosopher." The Progressive Party may have no past but it has a social philosophy and a future.

One may see therefore, that it could logically support "equality of rights under the law" for us. "We call," the platform reads, "for a Constitutional Amendment which will effectively prohibit every form of discrimination against women—economic, educational, legal and political." And also, "We propose to extend Fair Labor Standards for women, to guarantee them healthful working conditions, equal job security with men." "We propose" it continues, "to raise women to first-class citizens by removing all restrictions—social, economic, and political—without jeopardizing the existing protective legislation vital to mothers or future mothers." Maternity benefits for working mothers, medical care for mother and child prior to, during and after birth, jobs back after the birth of children, and a program of Federal assistance for the establishment of day-care centers for the children of working mothers are among the specialized benefits included.

The Equal Rights Amendment was presented to the Platform Committee by a group of seasoned adherents. Lena Madesin Phillips Progressive Party Committeewoman and Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Connecticut, member of the Advisory Board of the National Woman's Party, served as chairman and presented the speakers. Effective speeches were made by Nora Barney, in charge of the Finance Committee of Greenwich Women for Wallace and granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton; Adda Lutz Ferguson, Philadelphia attorney, President of the Sentry, a club of Republican business women; and Anita Pollitzer, Chairman of the National Woman's Party. These addresses were well received by the Platform Committee and many pertinent questions were asked.

Great assistance was given the Equal Rights Amendment by Elinor Gimble, Chairman of the national organization, Women for Wallace. She urged the Platform Committee, over which she presided for a part of the time, to include a constitutional provision for equal rights for women.

"The Progressive Party" the platform states—"holds that it is the first duty of a just government to secure for all the people, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, national background, political belief or station in life the inalienable rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Bill of Rights." Women can ask no more. They must accept no less.

News From The States

Michigan—Officers elected at the Annual Meeting were: Chairman, Phoebe C. Munnecke; first vice-chairman, Lula E. Bachman; second vice-chairman. Pearl Greason; third vice-chairman, Geraldine L. Moore; recording secretary, Delphine Bruski; corresponding secretary, Edna E. Barker; treasurer, C. Katherine Rentschler; board of directors, Mrs. Jennie McKibbin, Mrs. Irene Brooks, Mrs. Patricia French, Mrs. Earl C. Doyle, Miss Constance Cotter.

Delaware—Miss Marie Lockwood, chairman of the Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party reports that the Delaware State Democratic Convention held August 24 unanimously adopted the Equal Rights Amendment plank in its State Platform.

New York—The Western New York Branch of the National Woman's Party meeting in Buffalo on September 1, 1948. passed and sent to all members of the State's congressional delegation, a resolution urging "concerted action to bring about the enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment at the 1948 special session of Congress, if one there be, and if not, at the next regular session thereof." M. Edna Donaldson is president of the Branch. The secretary is Yerda Ford.

The New York City Committee celebrated the Seneca Falls Centennial with a gala buffet supper meeting for over 100 members and guests at the Woman's City Club penthouse. The Chairman, Lillian Burton, greeted the guests and turned the meeting over to Nina Broderick Price, who presided. The speakers included Nora Stanton Barney granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Senora Amanda LaBarca of Chile, Jaqueline Cochran, famous flier, and Harrison Smith, President of the Saturday Review of Literature.

Ohio—In July, under the auspices of the State Branch, a series of state-wide broadcasts featuring the Seneca Falls Convention Centennial was arranged by Ernestine Breisch Powell. Fern Sharp of WBNS interviewed Mrs. Powell; Ruth Arnold Steva, member of the Board of Directors of the Ohio State Fair, and former member of the Executive Board of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, broadcast from Ohio's Rural Station in Worthington. The State Chairman and National First vice chairman, Clara Snell Wolfe, spoke over the Ohio State University Station. A luncheon meeting and program were held at the University Club, where all in attendance listened to Chet Long over WBNS. His "Feature of the Week" was the Seneca Falls anniversary.

Maryland—The nucleus of a "Maryland Room" at Alva Belmont House has been started by Amelia Himes Walker's gift of some fine old furniture from her home.

United Nations Again Gives Support To Equality Of Rights For Women

By AMELIA HIMES WALKER,
Chairman of International Relations, National Woman's Party.

THE Economic and Social Council of the United Nations adopted August 23, 1948, at Geneva, Switzerland, a strong resolution in support of equality of rights for women. This historic action was taken at a meeting of the Economic and Social Council held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, with Dr. Charles Malik, a good friend of equal rights for women, presiding.

The splendid report from the Commission on the Status of Women was before the Economic and Social Council and was referred to the Human Rights Committee of the Economic and Social Council.

Mme. Lefaucheux of France, representing the Commission on the Status of Women, was present at the meetings of the Human Rights Committee, as was Senora Amanda Labarca, Chief of the Status of Women Section of the Human Rights Division of the United Nations.

The resolution adopted by the Human Rights Committee and later by the Economic and Social Council was as follows:

A

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL,

"RECOGNIZING that the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, which are referred to in the Charter of the United Nations, insistently call for the abolition of the political inequality of women which still prevails in many countries;

"CONSIDERING that the equal participation of women in national, economic, cultural and social and political life is impossible unless women are granted equal rights with men;

"HAVING REGARD to the General Assembly's decision of December 11, 1946 concerning the political rights of women and of the replies received from some of the Member Governments;

"NOTES THAT, although the vast number of these make no distinction between men and women as to the use of the franchise and eligibility for public office, some report limitations on women in this regard;

"REQUESTS the States, Members of the United Nations, where women have not yet been given the same political rights as men, to grant them such rights in all spheres of economic, national, cultural, social and political life;

"REQUESTS the Secretary-General to address a communication to all Governments which have not replied to the communication sent by him pursuant to the General Assembly's decision of December 11, 1946 (Part A of Resolution 56 (I), and in so far as they do not now grant full political rights to women, to inquire as to their plans to give effect to the Charter affirmation of 'Equal rights for men and women' in regard to the franchise and eligibility to public office; and urging them to take appropriate and immediate action;

"The COUNCIL also draws attention to the fact that opportunities for the exercise of these rights and a greater measure of activity by women voters in making use of their right to take part in elections, as well as the introduction of a more general system of electing women to key posts in national, public, municipal and other institutions, will serve as an effective method of stimulating the interest of women voters, will increase their interest in social and political work, and will ensure a fuller use by women voters of their right to take part in elections;

"The COUNCIL further requests the Secretary-General to continue the collection of information, for the benefit of women who have recently acquired the vote, about effective programs of political education, and to give favorable consideration to measures for technical advice to such countries; and to prepare for general use a popular pamphlet showing the extent to which women have been accorded equal political rights.

B

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL:

"CONSIDERING that, in certain countries, women do not have the same possibilities as men of access to public administration posts and to the exercise of all the professions; and

"CONSIDERING that Article 8 of the Charter of the United Nations lays down that 'the United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs';

"RESOLVES to recommend that Members

(1) grant women, whether married or unmarried, access on equal terms with men to posts in the public service at all levels, including diplomatic, consular, legal and judicial office, and to all liberal and other professions; and

(2) consider women equally with men when appointing their delegations to organs and agencies of the United Nations and to international bodies and conferences.

C

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL,

"NOTING the views expressed by the Commission on the Status of Women with respect to the many and varied discriminations against women that result from conflicts in national laws relating to nationality, domicile, marriage and divorce; and

"NOTING the Hague Convention of 1930 on the Conflict of Nationality Laws, the Montevideo Convention of 1933 on the Nationality of Women, and the studies in this field undertaken by the League of Nations;

"REQUESTS the Secretary-General to prepare for the consideration of the Commission at its third session:

"(1) a report based on replies to Part 1 Section G of the questionnaire, together with a report on existing Treaties and Conventions in the field of Nationality; and

"(2) a list of questions designed to elicit any further information which, after an examination of the replies of Governments, may be found to be required by the terms of the Commission's resolution on Nationality.

D

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

"DEPLORES all legislative measures which forbid mixed marriages between persons differing as to color, race, nationality or religion, and

"RESOLVES to transmit the observations of the Commission on the Status of Women contained in paragraph 29 of the Report, and also the Chilean proposal contained in document E/AC.27/W.16 and the U.S.S.R. proposal contained in document E/AC.27/W.18 to the Commission on Human Rights.

E

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL,

HAVING CONSIDERED the need to influence world public opinion in favor of equality between men and women,

"RECOMMENDS that the Secretary-General:

"(a) call upon the world press, radio, film and other information agencies to help in removing such prejudices as have been proved to exist in this respect; and

"(b) call upon the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, in accordance with its means and possibilities, to assist all such information agencies in these efforts to the fullest possible extent, and to prepare suitable information material of all kinds for this purpose.

(Continued on Page 38)

Equality In Human Rights

By ALICE MORGAN WRIGHT,

Representative of the World Woman's Party at meetings of the Human Rights Commission, June 1948

AT LAKE SUCCESS in May and June 1948, the Drafting Committee first, and then the full Commission on Human rights of the United Nations, day after day, and Article by Article, worked over the text of the Declaration and Covenant for an International Bill of Rights which had been first drafted at Geneva last December..

At the Geneva session (December 1947) Article 1, had been worded, "All men are born free and equal in dignity and rights'". In the latest draft the expression "Human Beings" has been substituted for the word "Men." In Article 13, the wording "Men and women shall have the same freedom to contract marriage in accordance with the law," has been amplified to read. "1. Men and women of full age are entitled to equal rights as to marriage. Marriage shall be entered into only with the full consent of both intending spouses."

Article 24 of the Geneva text read "Women shall work with the same advantages as men, etc." This Article has now been dropped; but serves as an illustration of how, in striving to legislate in accordance with the equality principle,—six times enunciated in the Charter at San Francisco,—the Human Rights Commission may have leaned over backward in reiterating the principle as applied to special fields and by implication weakened the comprehensive declaration of Aritcle 2: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language etc."

Thus there must be continuous vigilance and scrutiny of the lines and between the lines of every Article in the Declaration and in the Covenant and in the provisions for implementation as these are dealt with by successive commissions and committees; in the Economic and Social Council next then in the General Assembly before the Covenant goes in its final form to the Member Nations of the United Nations for ratification. And every citizen of the world should be watchful at every stage in the framing of the International Bill which is to affect the lives of all mankind as the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States affects the lives of its citizens.

From India arrived for the opening of the recent session of the full Commission, Hansa Mehta, who is besides Mrs. Roosevelt, the only woman member and who is moreover one of the great Equalitarians of our time; one whom no word or implication subversive of the equality principle is likely to escape.

A past president of the All-India Women's Conference, Mrs. Mehta is now serving her own government as a member of the Congress and of the Commission which is framing India's new Constitution. Her husband, Dr. Mehta, was Gandhi's physician. Their son and daughter are in college in the United States. But on her first visit to this country—the then young unmarried daughter of the Prime Minister of Baroda—she came alone on a self-appointed mission to explore our colleges because of her interest in education for women and her wish to promote its development in India.

At a still more tender age, already a follower of the philosophy of Gandhi, Hansa Mehta was one of the marchers to the sea for salt in that episode in India's history so reminiscent of our Boston Tea Party's protest against taxation without representation.

And after all these years the same slender figure in flowing sari, unyielding of purpose, soft-voiced, treading on noiseless sandals, was to appear at the first Session of the United Nations in New York as a member of the "Nuclear" Sub-Commission on the Status of Women. And it was from the Indian Woman's Charter of Rights and Duties that the women of the United Nations took the passage which prefaces their Report, and sets forth the ideals which the Status Commission adopted for its own.

"All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of caste, creed or sex;" so begins the Indian Women's' Charter. In its final Article which concludes the section on Duties, it calls on women "To educate themselves for good citizenship" and "To strive to the utmost for world peace."

These three: Equality, Education and Peace, are merged in the single goal toward which the continuous effort of Hansa Mehta is unswervingly directed; and all who are eager and who strive that this goal shall be achieved have in her a champion. As a member of the Human Rights Commission her vigilance over the framing of the International Bill of Rights is a safeguard for the equality of rights between men and women and for the establishment of peace for all peoples."

United Nations

(Continued from Page 37)

F

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL,

"CONSIDERING that the principle of the equality of rights of men and women enunciated in the preamble of the United Nations Charter should also be applied in the educational field and all its branches;

"HAVING NOTED that this principle is not satisfactorily applied in certain countries, especially where the technical and professional education of women is concerned, due either to the lack of legislation guaranteeing the right of women to education or to the failure to apply such legislation;

"REQUESTS the States Members of the United Nations to grant women equal educational rights with men and to ensure that they are afforded genuine educational opportunities, irrespective of nationality, race or religion.

"FURTHER SUGGESTS that UNESCO include in its annual reports information on its progress and plans for improving educational opportunities for women; and that UNESCO upon request be ready to make suggestions for programs for the education of adults in the various countries where such programs would help to solve the problem of illiteracy, and for other educational programs, having in mind, when elaborating every educational program, that the widest publicity of the political, social and civic rights of women and of the historical evolution and practical results of these matters is a question of vital importance, in order to teach the principle of equality of the sexes.

G

"THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL,

"RECOGNIZING that restrictions with regard to the equality of rights of men and women constitute an infringement of the fundamental rights of the human person and are incompatible with the obligations assumed by the States Members of the United Nations under the terms of the Charter,

"NOTING that there exist, in a certain number of countries, discriminatory practices with regard to the economic and social condition of women, which are not compatible with the dignity of woman and which make it more difficult for her to participate in the economic life of such countries,

"INVITES the States Members of the United Nations to adopt the necessary measures so that

"(a) whatever their nationality, their race, their language or their religion, women shall benefit by the same rights as men in regard to employment and remuneration therefor, as provided for in resolution 121 (VI), leisure, social insurance and professional training and that

"(b) in each country there should be legal safeguards for the rights of mothers and children;

"DRAWS attention to divergencies in various local systems in this field, some of them restricting the right of married women to act as guardians, to control property and earnings, and to undertake independent business ventures, and to engage in various other activities."

Rheta Childe Dorr

NONE privileged during her lifetime to know Rheta Childe Dorr will have heard unmoved of her death early last month. To members of the National Woman's Party, of whom she was one, the news was of more than personal significance. For Mrs. Dorr was one of the Party's first, and truest, and most highly valued friends.

When she came to Washington to become the first editor of *The Suffragist* (now EQUAL RIGHTS), the Party (then the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage) was less than one year old.

No longer affiliated with the National Association for Woman Suffrage by which its policy of "Party responsibility" for Congressional opposition was hardly less strongly disapproved than by the Democrats then in complete control of both Senate and House, the younger and more politically minded group, its head bloody but unbowed, consolidated its forces and prepared to "carry on." At that point, reorganizing under the guns alike of repudiating suffragists and anti-suffragists, the Congressional Union decided that it needed and must have a weekly paper.

What followed is history, recorded for all to read by the nation's newspapers, not infrequently on their front pages, and by Mrs. Dorr, with eloquent brevity, in her autobiagraphy, "A Woman of Fifty."*

Of that campaign, her part in it, and what she thought of it, she was later to write:

> "One night, early in 1914, as I was sitting, half ready for bed, in my room in Washington Square, two strange young women called on me with the modest proposal that I go to Washington and join them in a rapid fire campaign to add an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I said: 'Has the time really come?' and they said, yes, it had come. Next morning I packed my trunks and within a day or two I was a resident of the National Capital committed to one of the most remarkable enterprises the women of this country ever carried to a successful conclusion.
>
> "Fifteen minutes conversation with Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, my callers that night, convinced me that they, of all the suffragists I had ever met, had a practical program for putting the question to the country and getting a right answer."

Rheta Childe Dorr, author of "A Woman of Fifty"

Although, as she further states, her part was "to found and edit *The Suffragist*, the official organ of the Congressional Union, and to give all the material I could to the local reporters and Washington correspondents," Mrs. Dorr did more, far more, than that. Not only as editor and in the field of public relations—hers were probably the first press conferences ever held in Washington—did Mrs. Dorr "do her bit" in that campaign.

Soon, she, who had worked and spoken for suffrage all her life, was being headlined for bringing to light and public knowledge, the then attitude of President Wilson of opposition, as a matter of personal conviction, to the proposed Federal amendment.

Challenged by Mrs. Dorr, on behalf of a group of 500 Clubwomen sent June 30, 1914 to the White House to present resolutions recently adopted urging its enactment, President Wilson, who hitherto had evaded the issue involved and was visibly irritated at finding himself unable longer to do so, not only placed himself squarely on record against the amendment but refused to discuss its admitted Constitutionality.

Under screaming headlines were carried in full, in front page stories, newspaper accounts of that "incident" on the suffrage front in Washington, which roused to indignant protest the women of the entire country and brought them into more united support than ever before of the amendment campaign.

And finally, as also is of record and as Mrs. Dorr's own account further states, "on December 18, 1917, Woodrow Wilson gave in, and to a Congressional committee sent to confer with him on the subject 'earnestly advised' adoption of the amendment 'as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world'."

That she was unable personally to participate in "the last battles that won citizenship for the women of the country," was deplored by Mrs. Dorr as "one of the things that I regret and always shall." But by that time she was reporting other wars on other fronts, from none of which, however, did she ever fail to "follow every day newspaper accounts as well as those given me in private letters" of those final turbulent campaign years, up to and including the adoption of the amendment in 1919 and its ratification in August, 1920. And to the achievement of that hard won objective she paid an ever memorable tribute.

Against a background of working experience which included not only every state in the Union but, all the countries of Europe excepting only Portugal and Greece, Mrs. Dorr, having in the meantime witnessed and reported the Russian revolution, the first World War, and post war developments in Europe up to and including 1923, wrote in 1924:

> "In six years, Alice Paul and the women who recognized her as the greatest woman suffrage leader since Susan B. Anthony, had finished the work begun in 1848 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and other women of that great year of world revolution.
>
> "To my mind, this six-years campaign conceived by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, and carried on with skill and amazing courage by thousands of women in every part of the Country, stands out as one of the immense achievements of my time.
>
> "Those women started out without a dollar in money, with every man's hand against them, with the only regularly organized suffrage group opposed to them, with a President openly hostile, and a Congress composed of men either opposed or believing sincerely that woman suffrage should come by State and not by Federal action. We won our great campaign in six short years.
>
> "The National Woman's Party not only gave votes to the women, its members started a movement that will never slow down until all American women have legal and social equality with men.
>
> "It seems to me that no woman of fifty, in another age, beheld a greater change in society than this one."

With no less eager interest, however, did she follow, through press and radio when no longer able to do so otherwise, the shifting developments and kaleidoscopic changes of after years.

Despite failing health and crippling accidents, she continued to the last to concern herself with national and international affairs, her conversation and correspondence reflecting the accuracy and continuity with which she kept herself constantly in touch with current events in all parts of the world.

Many who knew her only through the written word were hardly less shocked to hear that she would write no more than by the fact that when the end came that Sunday morning she was 83 years old.

Indeed, to none did anyone ever appear more untouched by time, so young was she in heart, so vital of spirit, so indomitable her courage, so vibrant her personality.

"I have never seen so much energy, ambition and determination housed in one body as was in hers," wrote Ray Long, late one-time editor of the Cosmopolitan in announcing a forthcoming article by her for that magazine.

"She was like a flame," said one who knew her well, and so perhaps will many think of her, who loved or ever met her. By them, and by others unknown to her in life, she will be long remembered.

*Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1924.

Centennial Celebrations At Seneca Falls And Rochester

By ALICE MORGAN WRIGHT, *Representative of World Woman's Party;* and CAROLINE LESTER, *Corresponding Secretary, Albany Branch, National Woman's Party.*

ON July 19th and 20th, the Village of Seneca Falls, New York, celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the meeting held there in 1848, which was called by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. This was the first Woman's Rights Meeting ever held.

All were impressed by the tree lined streets, the waving flags and banners displayed for that day, and the store windows of the main street decorated with village heirlooms. Promptly at 10:30 Monday morning, the 19th, a group of government and local officials assembled with the village band and a crowd of citizens in front of the post office. There a brief service was held and albums of the Centennial stamp were presented to Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney, granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, grandneice of Lucretia Mott and to Mrs. Emily Knight MacWilliams, the local chairman. In the afternoon of that day buses were provided for a pilgrimage to the residence of Mrs. Stanton and other homes and monuments of historic interest. This was followed by open house at the Historical Society building, where furniture and manuscripts of lectures by Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Amelia Bloomer were on display, and a tea at Trinity Parish House. In the evening the guests of the village attended the premier performance of the pageant "Woman Awakened," which depicted the development of the movement for equal rights.

Tuesday morning an inspiring meeting was held in Mynderse Academy auditorium. Mrs. Barney and Miss Strauss spoke briefly. The main speaker was Judge Dorothy Kenyon of New York City.

The celebration closed with a luncheon for the guests and the direct descendants of the signers of the "Resolutions" of the Convention of 1848.

The continuation of the celebration on the following day at Rochester began with a service in the Unitarian Church, which in her lifetime had been attended by Susan B. Anthony. In his invocation the Pastor Dr. David Rhys Williams, praised her work for the freedom of women and stressed the efficiency women had gained through that freedom for the work for peace. Then came addresses by those two steadfast equalitarians, supporters of the amendment, Alma Lutz and Dean Eunice Hilton of the University of Syracuse, who spoke of the past years of the woman movement, of the present, and of the time to come.

There was a pleasant luncheon meeting of old-timers and young-timers and a simple and moving ceremony at Miss Anthony's grave. The procession of those who paid tribute to her life and work included Representative Kenneth Keating, the Mayor, and Mr. Frank Gannett, the publisher.

The pilgrimage ended with a visit to the house which had been her home and which has been preserved through the initiative of the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs, restored in happily appropriate fashion and maintained as a museum with a collection of documents and trophies of the historic, still to be completed campaign.

After you have read this issue of EQUAL RIGHTS, please give or lend it to someone whom you think may be interested in the cause of equal rights for men and women.

The Women Remembered

By MRS. GEORGE HOWARD,
Chairman, Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago on July 19 and 20, 1923, the National Woman's Party celebrated in a most impressive way the 75th anniversary of the First Woman's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls New York, July 19 and 20, 1848. On July 21, the same group went to Highland Park where outdoor exercises were held with 5000 from Rochester joining in. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, leader, and others, spoke. Then the women dropped their floral tributes on the grave of Susan B. Anthony in Mt. Hope cemetery nearby.

This year a centennial committee in Seneca Falls, composed of representatives from all the local women's organizations planned a two day observance for July 19 and 20. On the morning of the first day there was a ceremony at the post office in connection with the centennial stamp which bore the faces of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott who had called the first convention, and Carrie Chapman Catt. Representatives of these women were given a book of stamps. In the afternoon there was a tour of interesting homes and a visit at the headquarters of the Historical Society, followed by a tea served in a nearby parish house.

In the evening a pageant with a cast of 185 persons depicted the background of the 1848 Convention and the Convention itself. It was done as though by professionals.

On the morning of the 20th there was a meeting at which the "Great Triumvirate" was represented. Nora Stanton, granddaughter of Mrs. Stanton gave some reminiscenses of her grandmother; Anna Lord Strauss, great granddaughter of Lucretia Mott gave her ideas about what women should do now; Susan B. Anthony II, grand niece of Miss Anthony, read her Declaration for 2048—that women should pledge themselves to work hard to make this a better world for the children of today. Dorothy Kenyon of New York spoke on the places which women have filled very acceptably and of the opportunities before them now.

The next day on July 21, the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Inc., in cooperation with presidents of women's organizations held a meeting in the Unitarian Church which housed the Rochester Convention of 1848. There a bronze tablet commemorates the first convention and the Anthony sisters, Susan and Mary who attended the church.

The Anthony House, now a memorial, kept "Open House". Women in costume represented the "Great Triumvirate." Other women in old-time costumes acted as guides in telling about the exhibits. In the large study on the third floor there was a special exhibit of pictures, Bibles, documents Quaker bonnets, etc., connected with those in Rochester who managed the convention a century ago. Refreshments were served in the dining room where Miss Anthony and her sister Mary were wont to show their hospitality. On the lawn a metal marker sent by the state education department was dedicated. The inscription chosen by Dr. Albert B. Corey, state historian, states that "Susan B. Anthony, outstanding Leader in Woman's Rights Movement, made her home here with her sister Mary, 1866-1906."

A more complete account of the Rochester celebration may be found in the newspaper clippings which Representative Katharine St. George, sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment, asked permission to include in the Congressional Record. In the Record for July 29 is a full page headed "Memorial to Susan B. Anthony."